1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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and probably white also. The pendants on the smaller ornament are identical, and still show the hoofs at their ends. It thus appears that, whereas the main ornament has only the three colors, namely, white, yellow, and black, — found also in an Arapaho ornament [1] with which it is virtually identical, — yet the peculiar line-pattern combination of red, yellow, white, and black, characteristic of the Arapaho "tribal" style of quill embroidery, also occurs in this Gros Ventre set of ornaments.

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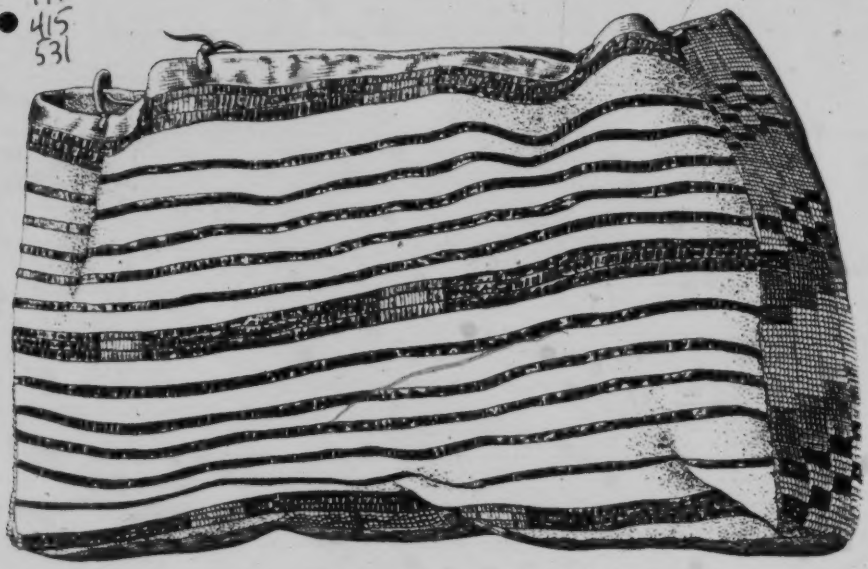

Fig. 5 (50-1738). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 21 cm.

Bags of soft skin, used chiefly for keeping and transporting clothing and small household articles, are made by the Gros Ventre very much as by the Arapaho and other Plains tribes. The ornamentation is also of the same character, consisting of red quill-embroidered lines across the front of the bag, and a pattern of bead-work (generally of alternately colored bars with cross spaces, augmented by tin and horsehair or other pendants) along the top and two side edges of the bag. This style has been illustrated for the Arapaho.[2] About half the Gros Ventre bags show the same ornamentation,

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 60, Fig. 9, a.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Plate XVI.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

varied only in inessential details. The remainder introduce a characteristic variation, though the fundamental type of decoration is the same. Such a bag is shown in Fig. 5. The red quilled lines are present, but are in part grouped in threes, so as to form stripes of three times the width of the lines. In consequence of this, the small differently colored spaces on the lines become rectangles, which usually assume the box form shown in the figure,

Fig. 6 (50-4209). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 35 cm.

and more characteristic of Sioux than of Arapaho ornamentation. The number of single lines between the compound stripes varies; in some specimens it is only two or three. Sometimes the box design of the stripes is represented on the lines by an end-bordered bar, as is customary on the bags with lines only, and as appears in the bag in Fig. 6. Even the small down-feathers of the line-embroidered bags may be present on the wider stripes of this variant Gros Ventre type. The bead-work along the two ends of the bag shown in Fig. 5 is very different from that on Arapaho

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

bags, recalling the typical checker and diagonal step design of Blackfoot beading. This type is, however, unusual among the Gros Ventre.

The fine bag shown in Fig. 6, collected by Dr. Clark Wissler, presents unusual quill-embroidery on its front, suggestive perhaps of Sioux influence or origin; but the bead-work on its cover and sides, and the attached tin and horsehair ornaments, are typically Arapaho, except for the fact that this tribe would be very unlikely to make any pattern without at least some proportion of white. The transverse lines of quill-work on this bag might be regarded as nothing but a further five-line development of the three-line grouping illustrated by the last figure, with an alternating bar-pattern for its chief ornamentation instead of the box figure, which in element is identical. The central figure, however, is the typical Sioux spider-web pattern described by Dr. Clark Wissler,[1] and so far without any parallel among either Arapaho or Gros Ventre, or any approach nearer than that shown in an instance of blanket painting.[2] The two parallel bars in the centre of this concave quadrilateral figure, and the diamond-shaped feather symbols at its corners, are also typically Siouan: only the last-named element is occasionally used by the Gros Ventre.

Buffalo paunches, the mouth being drawn up by a string, like a sack, were used for carrying and holding water, a paunchful being hung up in the tent. If buffalo had been killed, and it was desired to transport the meat across the Missouri, the paunches were filled with meat, blown up, tied together at the mouth, and floated. The well-known circular skin boats of the Missouri tribes were also used by the Gros Ventre for transporting clothing and property across streams.

Fig. 7 shows an ornamented food-bag of bladder. At the top is a strip of skin covered with red quill-embroidery, with square star designs in blue and white. From this strip of skin hangs a red quill-wound fringe. The thong handle of the bag is partly quilled, and has quilled thong pendants hanging from it. At the bottom of the bag a round piece of skin, covered with green-and-white quartered bead-work, is sewed on.

The navel-amulets of the Gros Ventre, which resemble those of the Arapaho in their use, are in form of a somewhat different type, as they approach more nearly to an animal's shape. They usually represent ąaniwa", the "horned toad" (southern Arapaho, säniwa", a "lizard"), or sometimes a person. Their general shape is, as everywhere on the Plains, a rhomboid on end. To this the Gros Ventre add at the upper end a small rhomboid, forming the head of the animal represented. This augmented shape has not been found among the Arapaho, with whom the typical form

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 248.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 85, Fig. 138.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

is a narrow simple rhomboid.[1] The Blackfeet and Sioux make figures resembling those of the Gros Ventre, but carry the realism farther. The Sioux most frequently represent an entire animal with head, legs, and tail, much like Fig. 1 in Plate VIII of Vol. XVIII of the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," but broader, in the shape of a turtle.[2] The Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfeet use ornamented strings hanging from the corners of the rhomboid to represent limbs and tail. The Blackfeet make realistic snake amulets for their boys, and more conventional turtle or lizard-like figures, resembling those of the Gros Ventre, for their girls.

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Among the Assiniboine, and west of the Rockies among the Bannock and Ute, a reduced form of navel-amulets occurs, though perhaps it is not the only one used. It is usually small and flat, with the acute angles of the rhomboid cut off transversely, rendering the whole piece hexagonal rather than quadrilateral. Sometimes the entire edges are fringed. The relative distribution of this small form and of the other forms is not yet clear. A Shoshone amulet in the Museum is a pointed rhomboid resembling the Arapaho type, even to being quartered in its bead-ornamentation. A Kiowa specimen in the Anthropological Museum of the University of California is a plain rhombus, of Arapaho type, except in being smaller and more nearly square. The following distribution of types is at least partly correct: realistic, Sioux, Blackfoot, occasionally Arapaho; semi-realistic, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre; conventional rhomboid, Arapaho, Kiowa, Shoshone; reduced hexagonal, Assiniboine, Ute, Bannock, and perhaps Shoshone.

Fig. 7 (50-1801). Ornamented Food-bag of Bladder. Length, 29 cm.

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On Plate IX are shown three Gros Ventre navel-amulets. Fig. 3 was said to represent a horned toad, and Fig. 2, a person. It will be seen that the mouth in the former is near the end of the head; in the latter, in the lower part of the face. Both these specimens have quilled or beaded appendages at the two side corners and at the lower end. Fig. 1 has a distinct

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate VIII.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 242, Fig. 76.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

the Shoshone. Specimen Museum No. 50-1741 (not shown in the plate) is similar to Fig. 6, but contains two central figures instead of one, and lacks the symmetrical half-designs along the edges. 531 171

A curious design on a bag is shown in Fig. 11. This, while much specialized, seems to show Blackfoot influence.

While these Gros Ventre pieces show resemblances here and there to the work of a number of tribes, yet they seem distinctly impressed with the tendencies of none. Perhaps fundamentally Gros Ventre rawhide painting is most similar to that of the Arapaho; but there are many departures from the Arapaho type, without corresponding development of any characteristically tribal style. There are some approaches to the art of both the Sioux and the Blackfeet, the two principal large tribes to the east and west; but these resemblances are not very marked. It is not unlikely that there may have been closer correspondences with the Crow. While the Blackfeet, according to Dr. Clark Wissler,[1] called their regular parfleche paintings "Gros Ventre painting," it is quite evident that the influence suggested by this name has actually had very little to do with the origin and development of the present style of Blackfoot painting. Not only do the Blackfeet appear to be in possession of a more distinctive style of rawhide painting than the Gros Ventre, but it is generally evident that any inter-influence of the two tribes on each other in respect to rawhide ornamentation has been inconsiderable.

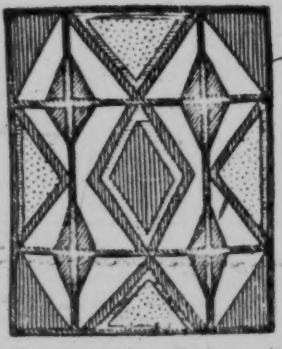

Fig. 11 (50-1805). Design on Bag. Length, 20 cm.

The cylindrical rawhide cases used by most Plains tribes, generally for holding medicine, are painted, on the whole, in styles resembling those of parfleches; but as the shape of the object and the portion of the decorative field visible at one time are quite different from those of parfleches, there are certain differences of design. At least four types of designs can be made out on medicine-cases; and, as more material becomes available for study, the tribal distribution of these, and especially the transition forms between the pure types, promise to be interesting. [415]

These four types, which have already been partly described in connection with the Arapaho,[2] are shown in Fig. 12 (*a–d*), and may be characterized as

[1] Clark Wissler, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 276.
[2] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 132.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

the stick is first covered with green cloth, then with skin covered with red and blue quill-work, and at the pointed end is bare, except for its red paint.

A feathered wheel a foot or a foot and a half across (specimen Museum No. 50–4292) is covered with red, blue, green, yellow, white, and black feathers and plumes, many of them dyed, and tied to the hoop without any attempt at color-pattern or other arrangement. Most of the feathers have the quill split.

Another hoop (specimen Museum No. 50–1745) is a little smaller, and is covered with brown buffalo-fur instead of feathers. At one point, five split owl-feathers and six black unsplit feathers are attached; at a place opposite, two small yellowed feathers, one with a green plume at the base.

Other specimens secured by Dr. Clark Wissler are a ceremonial spoon with long, thin, decorated handle, and a quirt. The latter (specimen Museum No. 50–4305) is similar to Arapaho ceremonial quirts.[1] A heavy wooden handle consists of two parts, — the handle proper and a longer portion with five deep notches in the lower edge. The upper edge is straight. The part of the handle that is notched is ornamented with brass tacks. From the end of the stick hang two ends of thong, the whip. At the handle is attached a skin of a fox or similar animal, ornamented with eagle-feathers.

A feather shield consists essentially of a circle of radiating feathers, worn on the back.

A crow-belt, also secured by Dr. Clark Wissler, is quite similar to the Arapaho one described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 345). It is interesting that of the five Arapaho pieces in the Museum, this is at once the crudest in construction, and the most perverted by white influence from aboriginal style. In the present Gros Ventre belt, a rectangular piece of rawhide is bent over a stick as a support for the remainder of the specimen. The two hanging "tail" strips are of yellow cloth, quite narrow, hanging apart. Eagle-feathers, some dyed red, are attached to them. The belt proper is formed by two pieces of woven yarn. In the middle of the piece are attached the head and breast of an eagle. Below this, between the two hanging strips, is an ornament of a row of eagle-feathers pointing downward. These are attached in the folded edge of a squarish piece of rawhide, thus resembling the analogous piece in the Arapaho crow-belt referred to and the Arapaho biitaha"wu head-dresses. The ornament, however, is fastened to the remainder of the piece, so that it cannot have been worn as a head-dress. The two usual projecting arms consist each of a black eagle-wing feather, with a strip of quill-embroidery laid along the quill of the feather, and with several small bells,

[1] Mooney, Ghost-Dance Religion (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. XIV, p. 987, Fig. 94), shows a very similar quirt attributed to the dog-dance.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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342 were sewn together with sinew. The women selected the poles for the lodge, as well as for the travois, and were responsible for [484] erecting and taking down the lodge, for the arrangement of the interior, for the making of the travois, and for the packing and moving of impedimenta.

The foundation of three poles for the lodge was tied together and then raised as a unit. The other poles were arranged one by one, starting with those of the front. The cover of buffalo hides was tied to one pole, the "backbone," which was placed at the center-back, the cover then being drawn into place and fastened securely at the front, with small wooden pins usually made of cherry-tree wood. The ordinary Gros Ventre lodge stakes were shaped like a pin with a relatively small head. One informant, [184 however, stated that this form of stake often came loose where 177] the cover became taut with the wind, and that she had found the forked type, first observed by her many years ago when visiting another tribe to the south, far more satisfactory.

342 Old lodge covers were saved and cut up to make a sort of lining 353 at the bottom of the lodge in winter, and the snow scraped away to make place for the lodge was piled up on the outside thereof for extra warmth. In summer the ground inside the lodge was covered with willows, sagebrush or rye grass. Decorated robes as windbreaks were sometimes suspended in the lodge behind the fancy backrests, which were made by the women from slender willow rods. The women gathered and peeled the rods, although the young men helped straighten them by pulling them through their teeth. A willow ring encircled the fireplace and a broom of buckbrush was always kept handy. Personal belongings were neatly disposed against the wall of the lodge and in front of these were placed the skins which served as bedding by night and as seats by day. The painted parfleshes were given prominence to lend colorful touches. Dishes, utensils, and stored food were suspended 412 from poles well off the floor.

415 Among the articles of household equipment may be mentioned knives, both of bone and of metal, kettles, horn spoons, fleshing tools, etc., and food containers of various sorts. For the latter, [237] the membrane protecting the heart of the buffalo, the paunch, the bladder, and the intestines of the buffalo, as well as those of the

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

elk and deer, served very well, and the first three were often used for carrying water. It was said that water kept cooler and fresher much longer in these than in other types of container such as those of metal.

Pottery had been made by the Gros Ventres in earlier times [10] but the only information we were able to gather thereon is contained in the following statements. Coming Daylight volunteered the most details: "They used some clay to boil their meat in. My grandmother worked it. She made a pot and told me how she did it. It was made of black mud of some kind. My grandmother took this mud and mixed some kind of grease or tallow with it and shaped the pot. While mixing the clay with the grease, she would shape it. It was smooth then. When finished it was about 18 in. high, 9 in. in diameter, the same at the top as at the bottom (straight-sided). The bottom was flat because it was put right on the fire and the coals were kind of heaped up around it when cooking with it. When my grandmother finished shaping it, she put it close to the camp fire and turned it around once in awhile so it would dry out. Then, when it was dry, she put water in it and put it on the fire to see whether it would crack. This pot didn't crack. I don't know what became of it. I never used it myself. It was undecorated. This one belonging to my grandmother is the only one I know the history of, and the only one in our family. We used the wooden dishes more than the pot. The pot was used only to cook in. Each family might have had one or two to cook in."

Singer, who was present when Coming Daylight told about this, said she had heard of such pots, but had never used one herself. Mary Ereaux, the interpreter, commented, "In the Missouri River where they are making the dam, the mud taken out of the River, when it dries, is just like cement." When asked regarding pottery, Charles Buckman stated that he doubted that the Missouri River mud could have been used for this purpose. There is a blue clay near Hays that would be suitable for making pots—he had heard that pots were used "in the old days" but did not know how they

[10] Cocking, in 1772, writes of the Gros Ventres, p. 111: "Victuals are dressed in earthen pots of their own manufacturing much in the same form as Newcastle pots, but without feet."

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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"They usually cut the cord long, say four to six inches, because they were afraid the infant would bleed to death if they cut it short. You kind of drain it and get it cleaned out and tie it once. Apply a powdered root and then put a band around the body. It usually takes four days before it drops off." Since the cord is part of the body and they wanted to keep it close to its owner, when the cord came off, they placed it in a small fancy bag filled with sweetgrass or tobacco and pinned the bag to the clothing right at the back of the neck. Singer said that she had heard that boys used to wear this little bag tied to the wrist rather than at the back of the neck as girls did. Good care was taken of the bag until adulthood. The bag was usually in the shape of a turtle, with a little head. Although Coming Daylight had made two such bags, she didn't know why they used this shape except that it had been done thus for generations.[8] Mary's grandmother, however, made a little container for Mary's own son and it was in the shape of a snake with a head. Mary added: "And the Gros Ventres don't like snakes either. But my grandmother made that one in the shape of a snake on account of a dream she had."

The afterbirth was disposed of just as soon as possible, preferably by having someone place it good and high in the branches of a tree.[9] The person who disposed of the afterbirth was not supposed to let anyone see him do so, although the informants did not know the reason for the secrecy. It is more customary at present to burn the afterbirth as the whites do, but Coming Daylight remarked that she had done that only once,—on the occasion when she was caught out in the open all alone and had to deliver herself.

A mother rested quite a while after her child was born because it was said that working would make her sweat and that would hurt her milk. The child of a woman who worked a great deal immediately after its birth would not grow up to be so healthy as the child of one who took it easy. In the opinion of Coming Daylight and of Singer a woman should sit up only after four days and get up and be walking around in about ten days. Coming Daylight her-

[8] For discussion of these navel amulets and illustrations thereof, see Kroeber, 1908, pp. 166–67, and plate IX.

[9] "If it were left lying to be handled, the child would be afflicted with sores." Kroeber, 1908, p. 181.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

exceptionally chewed in contrast to the Flat Pipe peppermint. A bag, painted red all over, about a foot square, and fringed on three sides but with no beading or other decoration, now hangs with the bundle and served, Al Chandler thought, as a container for the dried sweet pine needles.

The ritual number of the Feathered Pipe, running all through the songs and ceremonies, was four, from the days of the first keeper down to most recent times.

The musical instrument used to accompany the songs was, likewise from the time of the first keeper, the drum. According to Garter Snake, the first keeper's drum was painted half black to represent black [storm] clouds and half red to represent the earth. According to Al Chandler, the present drum, about 16 inches in diameter and two inches deep, has a figure of a thunderbird painted in blue on the drumhead against a red background, to represent Bha'a, with zigzag yellow lines from either side of the head to the wings, to represent lightning. A long string is tied to the drum. The drumstick is painted red, the distal end being covered with buckskin "stuffed with something like cotton." Curly Head, when keeper, never used the drum, or even took it out of its covering in which it hung next to the bundle, but Sitting High used it regularly with the songs.[a]

According to Garter Snake, the first keeper had somebody make him a wooden bowl, which still hangs with, not in, the Pipe bundle, but we obtained no information on its type or use. She also stated that the first keeper had a "gourd rattle" or four rattles, but Al Chandler never saw any rattle kept or used with the Feathered Pipe, and no other informant mentioned such.

The Feathered Pipe, like the Flat Pipe, was smoked, in fulfillment of vows, but very rarely. More commonly, in contrast with the Flat Pipe, it was danced with, earlier only by the keeper, in recent decades by others.

General ritual features common to the Feathered Pipe and Flat Pipe,—clockwise movement, singing, the use of paint, of buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley,—have

[a] The drum used in the 1951 rite was apparently undecorated. See Plate 2 C. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

539 773 will see the thing I use." White Man looked up and saw a bladder[8] up above the door. The man said: "That is what I use." White Man said: "I see it."

The man took the bag from where it hung and he and White Man went to the rising ground. When they reached there the man said: "What I use to hunt with and make a living with and do all things with is in this bag. You will see. Make your heart strong." So the man untied the bag. As he did so adult people began to come out of the bag. The crowd got bigger and bigger around them. The man then said: "This is enough." So he closed the opening of the bag and tied it up again.

After he had tied it up the man said to White Man: "Here are the people I use when I want to do anything. They are the ones who hunt." The man said to the people: "Go hunt and bring the choicest things to eat to my lodge. Myself and my guest want to eat some more."

So the man and White Man went back to the lodge and stayed there all day. That night the same thing happened that had happened on the first and second night previously. They ate and ate until they had enough and were filled and then they slept.

The next day White Man moved on and went his way. Then White Man began to study and think how he could acquire from the man the man's way of living and of getting a living. So White Man studied how to get the man to let him have this bladder. So he hit upon a plan. He decided to cut himself, as the Indians do in mourning, and to cry. So he cut himself and came crying loud to the man's lodge. When he got to the lodge he walked around it crying and crying. The man and woman heard White Man but they knew that White Man was a tricky fellow and they paid no attention to him. But White Man just kept on crying. They heard White Man crying until they went to sleep.

When they woke up the next morning the man wondered what had become of White Man. He said to the woman: "Go out and see if White Man is around." She went and there was White Man asleep outside. The man woke White Man up and invited him into the lodge. White Man went in and sat down, and in the course of time the man said to him: "What do you want? Why have you cut yourself and made yourself suffer and cried?" White Man said: "I did so for a very serious reason. My enemies have killed my whole family, my wife and children, and have destroyed my home. I am destitute and do not know how I am going to live. So I thought I would come to you and ask you to share the bladder with me and tell me how to use it, so I may make ready to take revenge on the people who destroyed my family and home." The man, knowing White Man to be what he was, refused at once: "No. You will go to extremes. You will abuse it. You are crazy." White Man begged all the more. The man and woman were silent for a long time. But White Man kept talking and talked so

[8] A gall bladder sack, attached to the liver. Such gall bladders were used by the Gros Ventres to store grease prepared and mixed with berries and were kept closed to keep bugs out.

[25 415]

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

796 Bear Paw Mountains. It was there that the Gros Ventres had their first Grass dance alone. I don't know why they did things like this, but all those who had been given regalia walked instead of riding horseback. But the drum was packed on a special horse by itself and when they came to a stream, four men who owned the drumsticks carried the drum across, wading in without taking off their moccasins or other clothing. Furthermore those who owned the regalia were not supposed to help feed the crowd. They were not allowed to serve food and if they did, they had to give something away. Nor were these men supposed to borrow. They were supposed to have their own cup or dish and when it
● [415] was time to eat, if they didn't have any receptacle, they spread out their robes and the servers poured the coffee or soup or whatever was being served right in the robes."

114 174 796 The above account is the only explicit record of the actual transfer which was obtainable in the field. From details supplied by this same informant, however, as well as by others not so old as she, but who have accurate traditional knowledge of Gros Ventre culture, we have considerable information on the Grass dance as practiced from the time it was adopted.[7] Let us proceed then to the general description, first as the dance was carried out in the earlier period.

575 796 *Personnel and equipment.* At the time of adoption the Grass dance came into the possession of a society, the Wolves or Wolfmen. Only members of the society actually danced, wearing the distinctive headdress of deer hair, although the rest of their costume varied with the individual. The special regalia which went with the dance were: 2 crow-belts; a large drum and 4 fancy drumsticks; a spear or fork; a spoon; 2 wands representing swords; a whistle.[8] Each item was owned by an individual member of the society who was, by virtue of this ownership, an officer

[115] [7] I wish to thank all of my Gros Ventre friends for their assistance, especially The Boy, Thick, Thomas Main, Charles Buckman, Al and Cora Chandler, Mary Ereaux, Mathilda Cuts-the-Rope, but above all, my old "grandmothers," Coming Daylight and Singer.

[8] For reference to description of some of these, see footnote 3.